

Qualifications and Background

My name is Traci Burch. I am an Associate Professor of Political Science at Northwestern University and Research Professor at the American Bar Foundation. I received my Ph.D. in Government and Social Policy from Harvard University in 2007.

Over the past 15 years, I have led several large, long-term quantitative and qualitative research projects on political participation in the United States. I have participated in and coauthored several book chapters and articles that examine race, political participation, and inequality. For instance, I have worked with Professors Kay Schlozman, Sidney Verba, and Henry Brady on book chapters and articles related to the causes and consequences of inequality in political participation. I also collected data on congressional hearings and interest group activities for that book. For my coauthored article with Jennifer Hochschild and our book with Vesla Weaver, I analyzed the legislative history of several racial policies, including the 1965 Hart-Cellar Act. We also explore political participation and attitudes in our book as well.

I am widely regarded as an expert on political behavior, barriers to voting, and political participation. My work has been widely cited and replicated and has won several awards. In particular, my dissertation on the effects of felony disenfranchisement on voting in North Carolina, Georgia, and other states, "Punishment and Participation: How Criminal Convictions Threaten American Democracy" won the Robert Noxon Toppan Prize for the Best Dissertation on a Subject of Political Science at Harvard in 2007. I also achieved national recognition for this work; the dissertation was also awarded the E.E. Schattschneider Award from the American Political Science Association for the best dissertation in American Government, and the William Anderson Award for the best dissertation in federalism, intergovernmental relations, and state and local politics. Several articles from this dissertation, including work evaluating voting patterns among people with felony convictions in North Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Missouri, and Michigan, have been published in leading peer-reviewed journals.

In particular, my articles "Did Disfranchisement Laws Help Elect President Bush? New Evidence on the Turnout and Party Registration of Florida's Ex-Felons" and "Turnout and Party Registration among Criminal Offenders in the 2008 General Election," which appeared in the peer-reviewed journals *Law and Society Review* and *Political Behavior*, respectively, included my calculations of felony disenfranchisement. My academic book on the community-level effects of criminal convictions on political participation, *Trading Democracy for Justice*, was published by the University of Chicago Press and also won multiple national awards from the American Political Science Association and its sections, including the Ralph J. Bunche Award for the best scholarly work that explores the phenomenon of ethnic and cultural pluralism and best book awards from the law and politics and urban politics sections. *Trading Democracy for Justice*, as well as the articles "The Effects of Imprisonment and Community Supervision on Political Participation," "Did Disenfranchisement Laws Help Elect President Bush?" "Skin Color and the Criminal Justice System," and "Turnout and Party Registration among Criminal Offenders in the 2008 General Election" rely on the analysis of data from Georgia.

I have testified before the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights about the collateral consequences of felony convictions with respect to voting and other issues. I have received several grants for my work, including a grant from the Stanford University Center on Poverty



and Inequality. I also serve as co-Principal Investigator on a National Science Foundation grant that supports graduate and postdoctoral fellowships at the American Bar Foundation. I have served on Editorial Boards of leading journals including Political Behavior and Law and Social Inquiry. Currently, I am on the Board of Overseers for the General Social Survey, a longstanding national public opinion survey run by the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago. I routinely review the work of my peers for tenure, scholarly journals, university presses, and grants and have served as a reviewer for the American Political Science Review, The American Journal of Political Science, The Journal of Politics, Political Behavior, the National Science Foundation, Cambridge University Press, Princeton University Press, the University of Chicago Press, Oxford University Press, and many other entities. I also am a member of the Executive Council of the Elections, Public Opinion, and Voting Behavior Section of the American Political Science Association.

My curriculum vitae is provided in the Appendix. I am being compensated \$350 per hour for work in this case, plus expenses. This is my ninth engagement as an expert witness. I previously testified at trial and in a deposition in a case in federal district court in Florida, Kelvin Jones vs. Ron DeSantis, etc. et al. (Consolidated Case No. 4:19-cv-300), at trial and in a deposition in North Carolina (Community Success Initiative, et al., Plaintiffs v. Timothy K. Moore in Superior Court, Wake County, NC Case No. 19-cv-15941) and at trial and in a deposition in federal district court in Alabama (People First of Alabama, et al., v. John Merrill, in his official capacity as the Secretary of State of Alabama, et al.; Case No.: 2:20-cv-00619-AKK). I was deposed and testified at trial in a case in federal district court in Florida (Florida State Conference of the NAACP, Common Cause, and Disability Rights Florida v. Laurel M. Lee; Case no. 4:21-cv-00187-MW-MAF) and deposed in a case in federal district court in the western district of Wisconsin (One Wisconsin Institute Inc. v. Jacobs Case No. 15-CV-324-JDP; Luft v. Evers Case No. 20-CV-768-JDP. I also testified in a preliminary injunction hearing in Robinson et al. v. Ardoin (Case No. 22 CV-00211, Middle District of Louisiana). In all cases where an opinion was issued, the courts accepted and relied on my expert testimony.

Scope of the Report

I was asked by the attorneys for the plaintiffs in this case to provide information relevant for evaluating Senate Factor 5, or “the extent to which minority group members bear the effects of discrimination in areas such as education, employment, and health, which hinder their ability to participate effectively in the political process.” I have also been asked to provide information relevant for evaluating Senate Factor 8, “whether there is a lack of responsiveness on the part of elected officials to the particularized needs of minority group members.” In formulating my opinions, I relied on my analysis of standard sources for political scientists such as the reviews of scholarly literature and the analysis of demographic data, government reports, and public opinion surveys where noted. My work in this matter is ongoing, and I reserve the right to amend, modify, or supplement my analysis and opinions.

Summary of Conclusions

Based on my analyses and review of the scholarly literature, I offer the following opinions:

- Senate Factor 5: The state of Mississippi has consistently failed to provide equal educational opportunities to Black children in the state, and as a result, there are significant gaps in educational attainment and academic achievement between Black and white Mississippians.
- Senate Factor 5: Voter turnout in Mississippi varies by educational attainment, and much of the gap in turnout between Black and white Mississippi residents can be accounted for by the denial of educational opportunities to Black Mississippians.
- Senate Factor 5: Black people in Mississippi also face discrimination in employment and access to capital; financial resources have been shown to affect voter turnout generally and in studies of Mississippi in particular.
- Senate Factor 5: Housing discrimination also plagues Black Mississippians; factors such as homeownership and racial residential segregation have been shown to affect voter turnout.
- Senate Factor 5: Health outcomes such as cancer mortality, infant mortality, and life expectancy vary by race in Mississippi. Discrimination is a factor in these racial gaps: studies of Mississippi residents have shown that exposure to racial discrimination affects heart health, and that Black Mississippi residents have greater difficulty accessing health care and healthy foods.
- Senate Factor 5: Research has shown that discrimination affects conviction and sentencing in Mississippi; such discrimination plays a role in the racial gaps in criminal justice supervision between Black and white Mississippi residents. These racial gaps also affect voting because of Mississippi's felony disenfranchisement law.
- Senate Factor 8: Mississippi ranks at the bottom of states in almost all measures of well being, including health, education, and poverty. However, despite the availability of federal resources and majority public support for policies that could alleviate racial disparities in education, socioeconomic status, health, and criminal justice, the state of Mississippi clearly and repeatedly refuses to enact such policies. In fact, in several instances, the state has misused or misspent federal money earmarked to help vulnerable groups.

I discuss each of these conclusions further in the sections below.

Senate Factor 5: Discrimination in Educational Attainment and Voting Participation

People with higher educational attainment are more likely to vote (Almond and Verba 1963, Brady, Verba, and Schlozman 1995b, Burden 2009, Campbell et al. 1980, Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995b). Verba, Schlozman, and Brady argue that the relationship between socioeconomic status and voting exists because people with greater education also tend to have more of the resources such as time, money, and civic skills that affect the calculus of participation (1995: 282). Education makes it easier for individuals to navigate the costs of voting such as acquiring information about the candidates and issues or learning how to register and vote (Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995b).

Black people in Mississippi have faced educational discrimination throughout the state's history, hindering their ability to vote. Although the U. S. Supreme Court ruled segregation in public schools unconstitutional in *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954, and Congress outlawed segregation in public accommodations in the Civil Rights Act of 1964, as I will discuss, the state failed to desegregate public schools for several years after those rulings. In fact, I will show

below that Mississippi's state and local governments have continued to enforce and support segregation in educational institutions even in recent years; for instance, by funding racially homogenous private schools, by assigning students to schools and classrooms by race and by maintaining racially separate proms, homecoming courts, and other activities.

Despite the court's ruling in *Brown*, the education provided by the state to Black and white students remained separate and unequal. Mississippi historically spent less money on educating Black children than white children; for instance, in 1950, this gap was \$22.29 dollars to \$71.00, respectively (Margo 1990). By May of 1961, the Southern Educational Reporting Service found that no Mississippi Black students attended school with white students in public elementary, secondary, or post-secondary institutions (Southern Educational Reporting Service 1961, 1961).

The lack of progress on desegregating public schools was due to the massive resistance of white parents and the policies of Mississippi state and local governments. The Mississippi legislature adopted several laws in special sessions that were designed to maintain segregated schools (1961, Douglas and Center 2005). Beginning in the mid-1960s, many districts in the state "desegregated" by adopting a "freedom of choice" scheme that encouraged the maintenance of separate public and private schools for white children (Fuquay 2002, Bolton 2009). Of course, no white children opted to go to Black schools, and Black students who tried to attend white schools faced intimidation and violence (Fuquay 2002: 172-175). Even as late as 1967, one-third of Mississippi school districts were still completely segregated, and fewer than three percent of Black children in the state attended school with white children (Bolton 2009).

Mississippi officially desegregated all school districts in 1970 in the aftermath of rulings in *Alexander v. Holmes County Board of Education*, 396 US 19 (1969) and *U.S. v. Hinds County Board of Education*, 417 F.2nd 852 (5th Cir. 1969). However, Mississippi schools continued to be segregated in practice. The number of private schools for white children increased dramatically after the desegregation order, as did the number of white children opting out of the public school system:

The *Alexander* decision led to an explosion of private schools across Mississippi. One student of the movement estimated that 61 schools were founded in that year, a number that is certainly understated. By 1973 there were 125 segregation academies operating in Mississippi. In the 30 districts specifically named by the *Alexander* decision, the number of academies increased from 6 to 30. Incredibly, most of these schools were created between the time of the court order in December and its implementation date on January 7. Already existing schools were in a position to take full advantage of the advent of "mass integration" and they saw their enrollments skyrocket. (Fuquay 2002: 176-177).

The State continued to support school segregation. Early on, state vouchers paid for students to attend these "segregation academies," and even after 1970 these schools received textbooks, supplies, and transportation paid for with public money (Fuquay 2002: 169, 178). The state also punished districts for desegregating: in 1971, the governor of Mississippi issued an executive order denying school districts state funds if children were bused to desegregate, an order that caused Jackson Public Schools to lose 40% of their budget that year (Dixon 2020:3).

White flight did not just occur via the transfer of white students into private schools. In many communities, parents also moved to avoid desegregation (Dixon 2020:3). For instance, the city of Jackson went from majority white in 1960 to majority Black today due to a decline in the white population spurred at first by the prospect of integration (Hennessy-Fiske 2022).

The state resisted desegregation in higher education as well. Well after the Supreme Court ruled in a series of cases that segregation in public education was unconstitutional, Mississippi still maintained a completely segregated system of public higher education (1961: 30). Although the number of Black and white children in the elementary and secondary education system was roughly equal in the state, there were 19 white public colleges but only 6 Black colleges in 1961 (Southern Educational Reporting Service 1961: 30). After violence, riots, and legal maneuvering, James Meredith was able to enroll in the University of Mississippi, escorted by federal agents in 1961 (Bridges and Walker 1995). However, after the admission of Meredith to the University of Mississippi, the U. S. Supreme Court found:

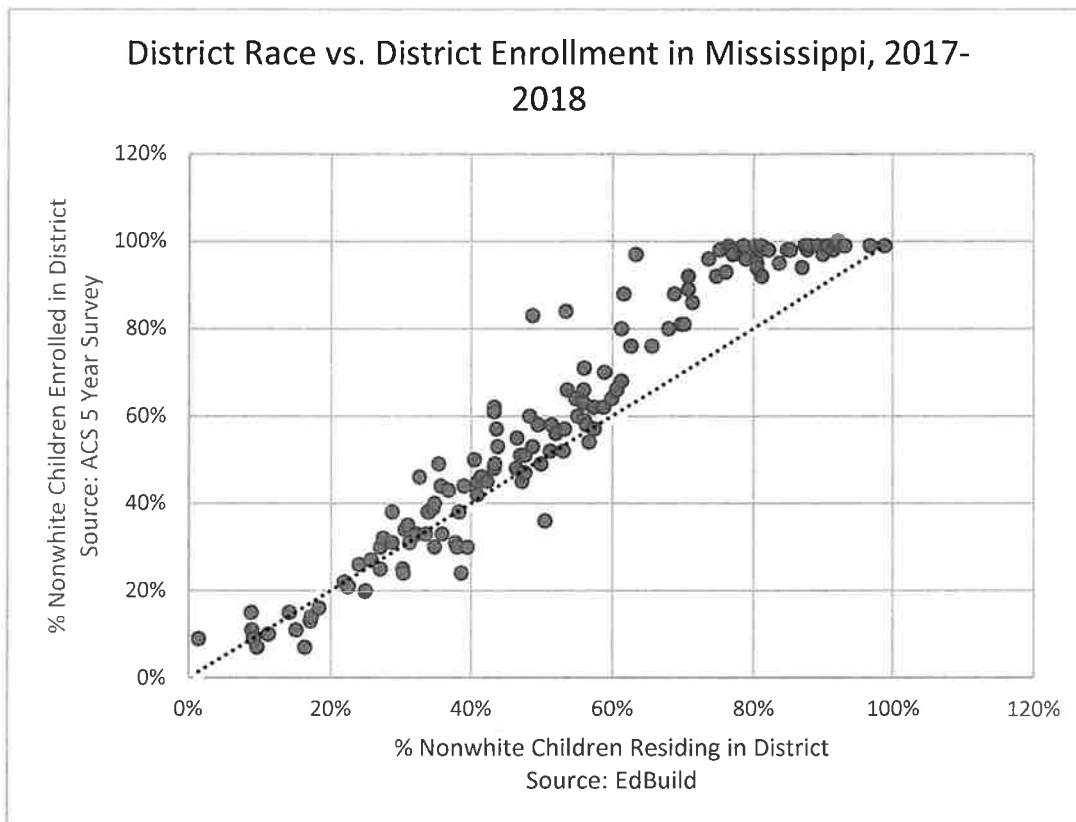
For the next 12 years the segregated public university system in the State remained largely intact. Mississippi State University, Mississippi University for Women, University of Southern Mississippi, and Delta State University each admitted at least one Black student during these years, but the student composition of these institutions was still almost completely white. During this period, Jackson State and Mississippi Valley State were exclusively Black; Alcorn State had admitted five white students by 1968. *United States v. Fordice*, 505 U.S. 717, 722 (1992).

The Court ruled in 1992 that the “State has not met its affirmative obligation to dismantle its prior dual system” of separate but unequal higher education. *Id.* at 743. Research shows that integration of Mississippi’s system of state universities is not complete; Mississippi’s historically Black institutions still are stigmatized and held in low regard by white students (Paul, Steven Andrew, and King 2004).

Today, it is not difficult to see the ways in which Mississippi’s history of racial discrimination against Black citizens in education still produces gaps in educational equality. There is ample evidence that Mississippi has and continues to promote separate and unequal education for Black and white students. Racial segregation and resource inequity still can be found in Mississippi public schools.

School segregation has been shown to detrimentally affect the academic performance of minority students: Black and Latino students who grew up under conditions of segregation were less academically prepared for college and had been exposed to more violence and social disorder than those coming from “majority-dominant settings.” (Massey and Fischer 2006). School segregation continues in Mississippi today. Currently, there are 37 school districts that are more than 90% Black in Mississippi (2022). There is ample evidence of the resistance of white parents and local school boards to desegregation. Following the tradition started with the segregation academies in the 1960s, white parents continue to opt out of public schools, especially in majority Black districts. As shown in Figure 1, Black students are overrepresented relative to their share of the population in most school districts in Mississippi; in fact, in districts (many in the Delta region) where Black students are more than three-quarters of students, white students have abandoned the public schools altogether.

Figure 1: Racial composition of school districts vs. school district enrollment by race in Mississippi for the 2017-18 school year. Data from EdBuild.org and the American Community Survey.



Coincidentally, more than 35 of the schools that began as segregation academies were still operating in 2012 (Carr 2012). These schools still enroll few to no students of color, and have discriminatory rules such as banning Black hairstyles (Carr 2012, Klein 2018). The state allows vouchers paid by public money to be used at some of these academies (Klein 2018). Many Mississippi politicians attended these academies, including Senator Cindy Hyde Smith (Klein 2018).

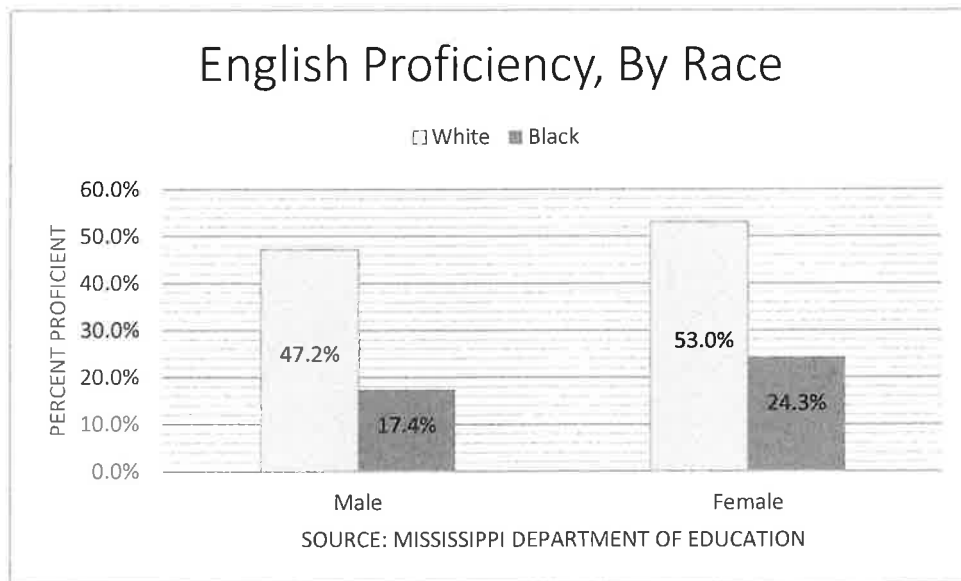
Several districts recently have engaged in practices that actively maintain racial segregation. More than 50 years after *Brown*, several Mississippi districts have been found to assign children to schools, classrooms, and even extracurricular activities by race. For instance, the Cleveland School District finally was ordered to desegregate in 2016 as it was still assigning students to Black and white schools (U. S. Department of Justice 2016). A Brookhaven, Mississippi policy that still assigned students to classrooms based on parent requests also has led to segregated classrooms (Northam 2019). Students still were being assigned to classrooms by race in Waynesboro Elementary School in 2012 (Consent Order, *United States v. Mississippi*, 2012 WL 13219550 (S.D. Miss. Jan. 3, 2012)).¹ A judge found evidence that a racially

¹ <https://www.justice.gov/sites/default/files/crt/legacy/2013/01/17/wayneco2012order.pdf>

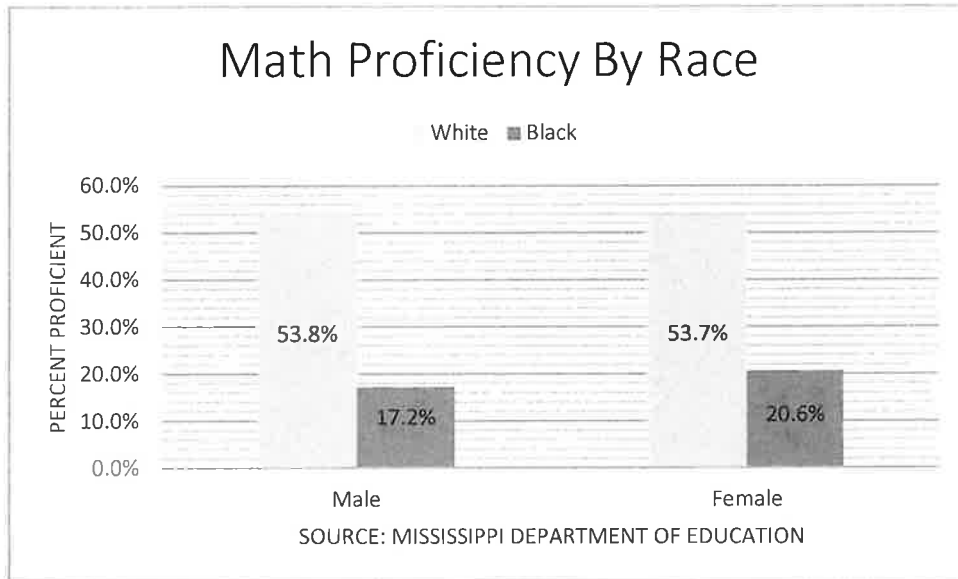
discriminatory policy of transferring white students to all-white schools led to resegregation in Walthall County (U. S. Department of Justice 2010). Recent evidence of separate proms for Black and white students (2008), separate elections for class officers by race, and even separate homecoming court selections has been found as well (*United States v. Nettleton Line Consolidated School District Civil Action*, 2020 WL 5237806 (N.D. Miss. Sept. 2, 2020); *United States v. Covington County School District* 2:66-Cv-02148 (S.D. Miss. Feb. 27, 1976); *United States v. Mississippi*, 2012 WL 13219551 (S.D. Miss. Jan. 3, 2012).

Mississippi also provides resources to schools unequally. Based on data from EdBuild.org, in Mississippi school districts in which 90% or more of the students were nonwhite, the state government provided an average of \$5,280 per pupil, compared with \$5,561 in districts where students were more than 90% white (2022).² When multiplied out based on the number of students in those districts, those nonwhite districts were shortchanged \$27,993,501 in that school year alone. This funding disparity exists even though the Edbuild.org data show that poverty rates were much higher in the 90% nonwhite districts: in those districts, the median student poverty rate was 41% and no district had fewer than 25% of students in poverty (2022). For the white districts, the Edbuild.org data show that the median student poverty rate was 19% and none had a poverty rate above 23% (2022). Evidence of unequal facilities has been found in some districts as well. *Gray v. Lowndes County School District*, 900 F. Supp. 2d 703 (N.D. Miss. 2012). Several Black districts, particularly in the Delta region, have fewer resources, meaning that students have to make do with teacher and bus shortages, older textbooks, and crumbling or dilapidated buildings (Parks 2021). The state has fully funded public education only three times in the last 30 years, and rural districts such as Holmes and Durant have been shortchanged millions of dollars (Parks 2021).

Figure 2: English (a) and Math (b) Proficiency by Race in Mississippi. Source: Mississippi Department of Education.



² This analysis discards the Montgomery School District, which was closed in that year.



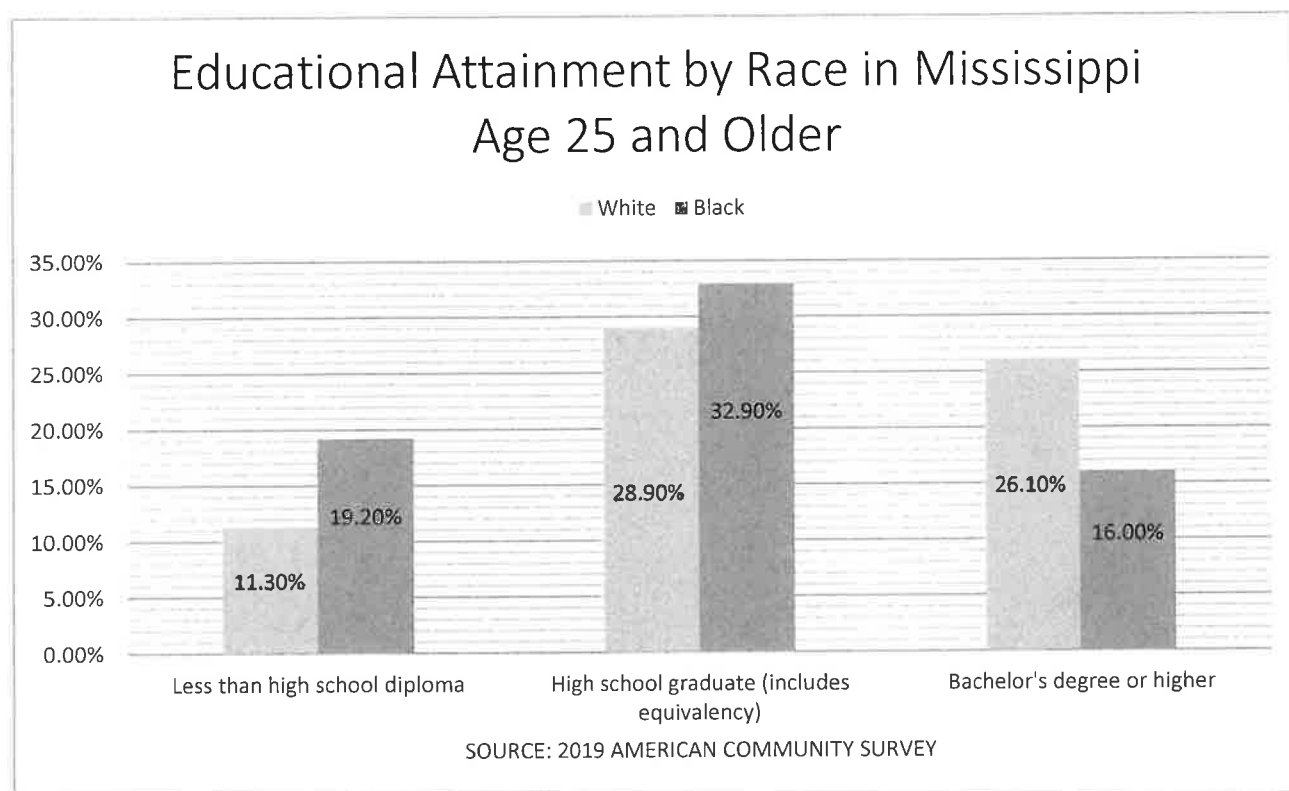
Given this historical and contemporary under-investment in public education for Black students, educational outcomes in Mississippi vary among currently enrolled students by race. As shown in Figure 2, among current students, there is a gap in scores on assessment tests in Mississippi; for example, only 24.3% of Black girls and 17.4% of Black boys are proficient in English, compared with 53.0% of white girls and 47.2% of white boys (Mississippi Department of Education 2022). Similar gaps exist in math proficiency: 20.6% of Black girls and 17.2% of Black boys were proficient in math, compared with 53.7% of white girls and 53.8% of white boys (Mississippi Department of Education 2022). In the 2017-2018 school year (the latest data available from the federal government), Black students were 49.0% and white students were 44.0% of Mississippi public school students (U. S. Department of Education 2018). However, that year, Black students were only 24.4% of students in gifted and talented programs and 31.7% of students taking Advanced Placement courses (U. S. Department of Education 2018).

The evidence suggests that racial disparities in school discipline exist in Mississippi. School suspensions have been shown to increase subsequent arrests and other anti-social behavior in youth (Mowen and Brent 2016, Hemphill et al. 2006). Sixty-five percent of students who received one or more out-of-school suspensions were Black (U. S. Department of Education 2018). Twice as many Black students as white students were referred to law enforcement in Mississippi (U. S. Department of Education 2018). In Meridian, MS, the U.S. Department of Justice found persistent racial disparities in school discipline (U. S. Department of Justice 2013). Corporal punishment is also more likely to be used against Black children in Mississippi (Gershoff and Font 2016).

This long history of persistent racial discrimination in education affects outcomes in educational attainment for Mississippians. Although there have been gains in educational attainment in Mississippi over time, racial gaps persist. Figure 3 shows data from the 2019 1-Year Estimates from the American Community Survey on the educational attainment of Mississippi residents over the age of 25, by race. The data show that white Mississippi adults are

far more likely than Black Mississippi adults to have earned a bachelor's or postgraduate degree, and that Black Mississippians have lower educational attainment overall.³

Figure 3: Educational Attainment by Race in Mississippi. Source: 2019 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates

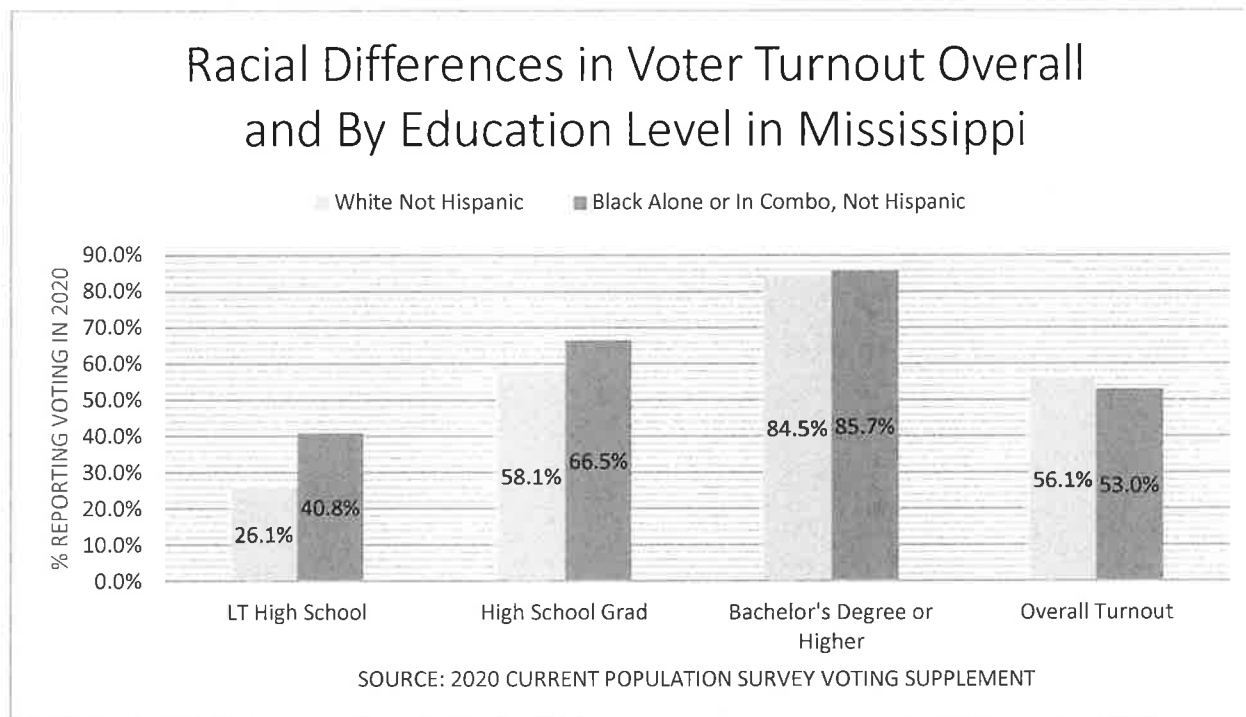


Even worse, literacy rates vary by race in Mississippi. An estimated 28% of Mississippi adults are classified as low literacy (National Center for Education Statistics 2022).⁴ In Black counties, low literacy rates are even more prevalent. For instance, 50% of adults in Humphreys County, 48% of adults in Quitman and Noxubee Counties, and 47% of adults in Holmes, Claiborne, and Wilkinson Counties are estimated to be below level 1 in literacy. Low literacy is a barrier to voting (Brady, Verba, and Schlozman 1995a, Summers et al. 2014).

³ The totals in the chart do not sum to 100% because people with associate degrees or some college are not depicted.

⁴ “Adults at this level can be considered at risk for difficulties using or comprehending print material. Adults at the upper end of this level can read short texts, in print or online, and understand the meaning well enough to perform simple tasks, such as filling out a short form, but drawing inferences or combining multiple sources of text may be too difficult. Adults who are *below Level 1* may only be able to understand very basic vocabulary or find very specific information on a familiar topic. Some adults *below Level 1* may struggle even to do this and may be functionally illiterate.” (National Center for Education Statistics 2022).

Figure 4: Racial Differences in Voter Turnout Overall and by Education Level in Mississippi. Source: 2020 Current Population Survey Voting and Registration Supplement



Examining voter turnout in Mississippi by race and educational level in Figure 4 shows the clear impact of Mississippi's history of educational inequality on voting. As shown in the last columns of the figure, overall, white Mississippians have higher voter turnout than Black Mississippians: 56.1% of white Mississippi citizens voted in the 2020 general election, compared with 53.0% of Black Mississippi citizens. However, once we control for educational level, we see that for every level of educational attainment, Black Mississippians vote at higher rates than white Mississippians. These data suggest that the overall gap in turnout between Black and white Mississippians exists because of the gap in educational opportunities between Black and white Mississippians. Black people in Mississippi have had less access to quality education and therefore have lower educational attainment for the reasons discussed in this section; this lower educational attainment leads to lower voter turnout.

Income, Poverty, Wealth and Voting

Income and wealth affect voting to the extent that greater income can make it easier to overcome the costs of voting, such as having the ability to afford time off work to go to the polls (Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995a). On every economic measure, Mississippi ranks among the worst-off states in the country (Suneson 2018). Black Mississippi residents fare worse than white Mississippi residents. For instance, as shown in Figure 5, the median household income for white Mississippi households is almost twice as high as that for Black Mississippi households. In Figure 6, it is clear that gaps exist on other economic measures as well: Black unemployment is more than twice as high as white unemployment, Black poverty is almost three times higher than white poverty, and more than three times as many Black households as white households lack access to a vehicle. Studies have shown that polling place distance affects voter turnout, and those effects are related to transportation access (Brady and McNulty 2011, Bagwe,

Margitic, and Stashko 2020). In states with no excuse absentee voting, people tend to offset issues accessing physical polling places with voting by mail; however, in states with limited absentee ballot options, such as that in Mississippi, the “substitution to mail-in voting” is smaller (Bagwe, Margitic, and Stashko 2020: 4). Overall, poverty and related issues have been shown to decrease political participation in Mississippi and other states (Austin, Franklin, and Lewis 2013).

Figure 5: Median Household Income by Race in Mississippi. Source 2019 American Community Survey 1 year estimates.

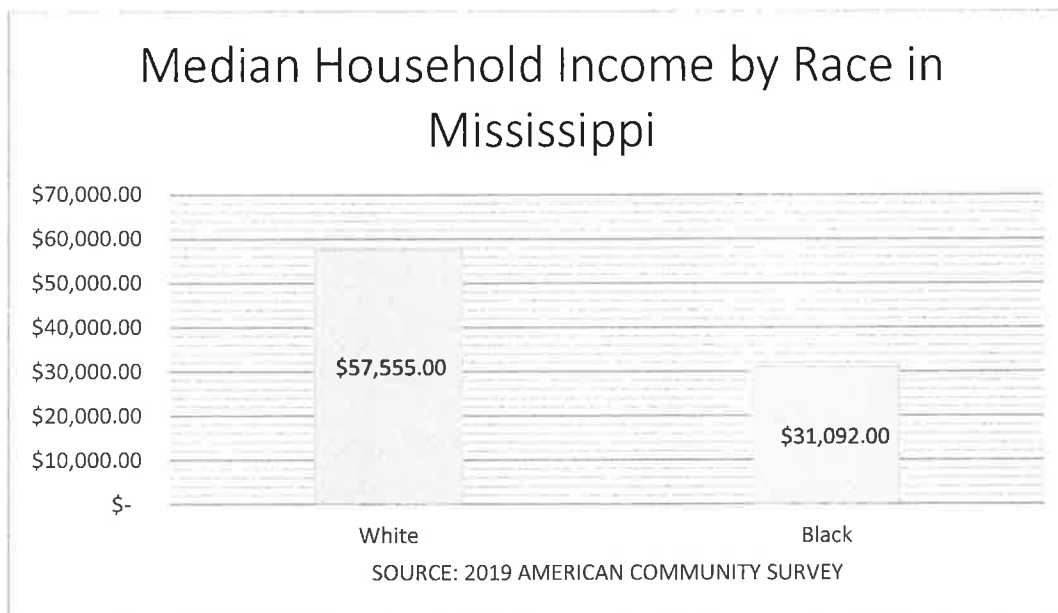
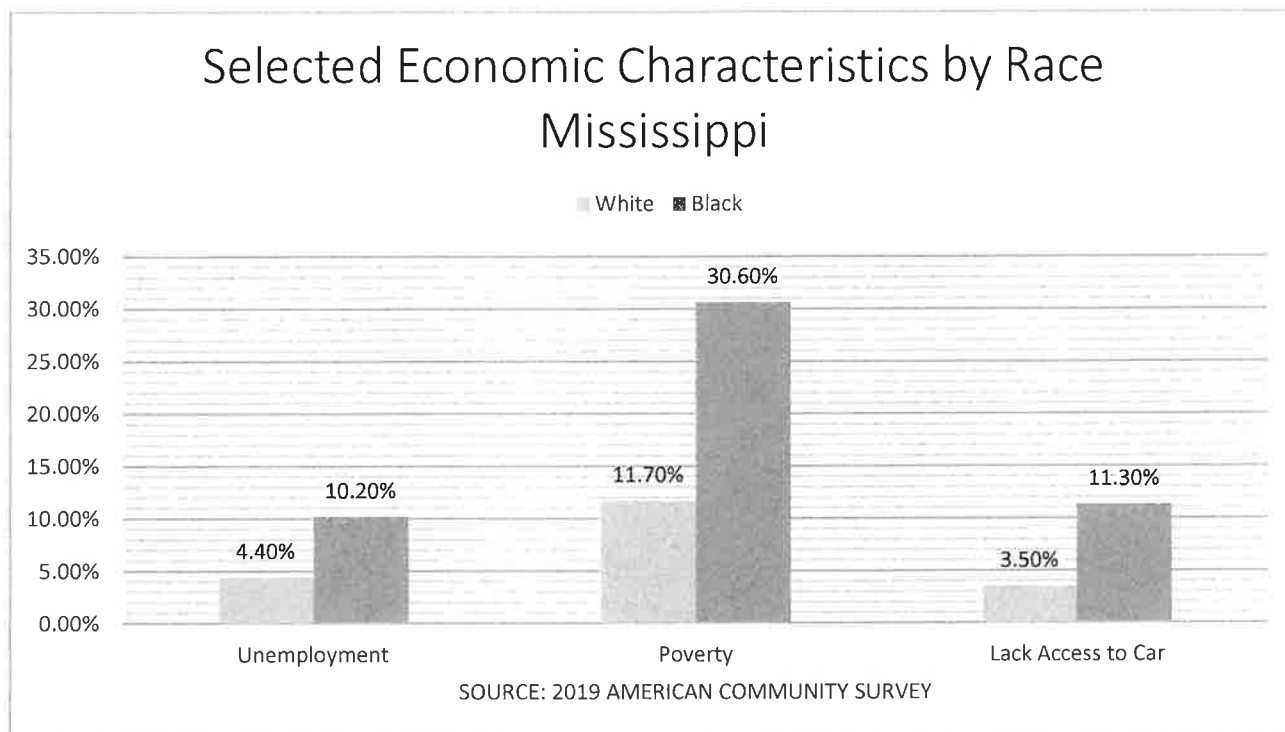


Figure 6: Selected Economic Characteristics by Race in Mississippi. Source: 2019 American Community Survey 1 year estimates.



The persistent educational discrimination faced by Black Mississippi residents can account for much of the disparity in socioeconomic wellbeing (Long 2010). However, decades of persistent discrimination in employment and access to capital over decades also have produced economic disparities.

Mississippi is predominantly rural, so agriculture has loomed large as a determinant of both income and wealth in the state. Of course, Mississippi's agricultural system was dominated first by plantation slavery and then through sharecropping. Eventually, Black farmers did gain a foothold, buying farmland in the Mississippi delta and other regions. However, land dispossession due to discriminatory or otherwise improper lending practices led Black farmers to lose their land at greater rates than white farmers in the state (Newkirk II 2019). For instance, white farmers had greater access to federal subsidies and farm aid than Black farmers due to discrimination in the federal and local administration of relief programs (United States Commission on Civil Rights 1965). Black farmers lost almost 800,000 acres in Mississippi between 1950 and 1964 (Newkirk II 2019). The federal government eventually compensated Black farmers for these discriminatory practices, *Pigford v. Glickman*, 185 F.R.D. 82 (D.D.C. 1999), but not enough to make Black farmers whole (Newkirk II 2019, Wright et al. 2020).

V.O. Key argues famously that southern politics are driven by race: in "those counties and sections of the southern states in which Negroes constitute a substantial proportion of the population . . . a real problem of politics, broadly considered, is the maintenance of control by a white minority" (Key and Heard 1949:5). Key later writes, "the beginning and the end of Mississippi politics is the Negro" because of the racial diversity of the state (Key and Heard

1949: 229). This political reality has important economic implications for the Delta region. According to Sharon Wright Austin, depopulation of the Delta region was a goal of economic policy in Mississippi by the 1960s, so that wages were kept artificially low and mechanization devastated sharecroppers (Austin 2012: 36). These policies led to a mass exodus of Black people to northern cities in search of opportunity (Austin 2012: 36-37). Afterward, economic development continued to lag in the region because local white elites opposed factories and other economic engines that would replace farming and provide opportunities for advancement (Austin 2012: 39). Plus, poor educational systems and depopulation made the Delta region unattractive to companies looking for places to locate factories and offices (Austin 2012: 37). In this way, the persistent poverty of the region was driven by systematic underdevelopment; although attempts have been made in recent years to spur growth through gaming and prisons, these have not been enough to ameliorate rural poverty in Mississippi (Austin 2012).

Discrimination still affects the ability of Black people to achieve economic parity with white people in Mississippi. For instance, an analysis of data from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission by Paychex found that Mississippi ranks second highest in the nation for employment discrimination complaints based on color and/or race (Paychex 2019). Employment may affect voter turnout through several pathways. First, white collar occupations may provide employees with a greater opportunity to develop civic skills that can be useful in navigating electoral bureaucracies (Almond and Verba 1963, Verba, Scholzman, and Brady 1995b). Second, salaried workers may have greater freedom to take time off work without risking their pay. Finally, Rosenstone and Hansen argue that work is an important site for recruitment into politics, which also increases voter turnout (Rosenstone and Hansen 1993).

Racial disparities in access to capital also affect Mississippians. Black people in Mississippi are four times as likely to be unbanked as white people in Mississippi (24.1% vs. 6.6%, respectively (FDIC n.d.)). Several towns in Mississippi, such as Itta Bena, are banking deserts, meaning that there are no branches available for people to conduct their daily business (Ross 2019). Banks are more likely to lend in places where they have branches and longstanding relationships with clients (Morgan, Pinkovskiy, and Yang 2016).

Housing, Residence, and Voting

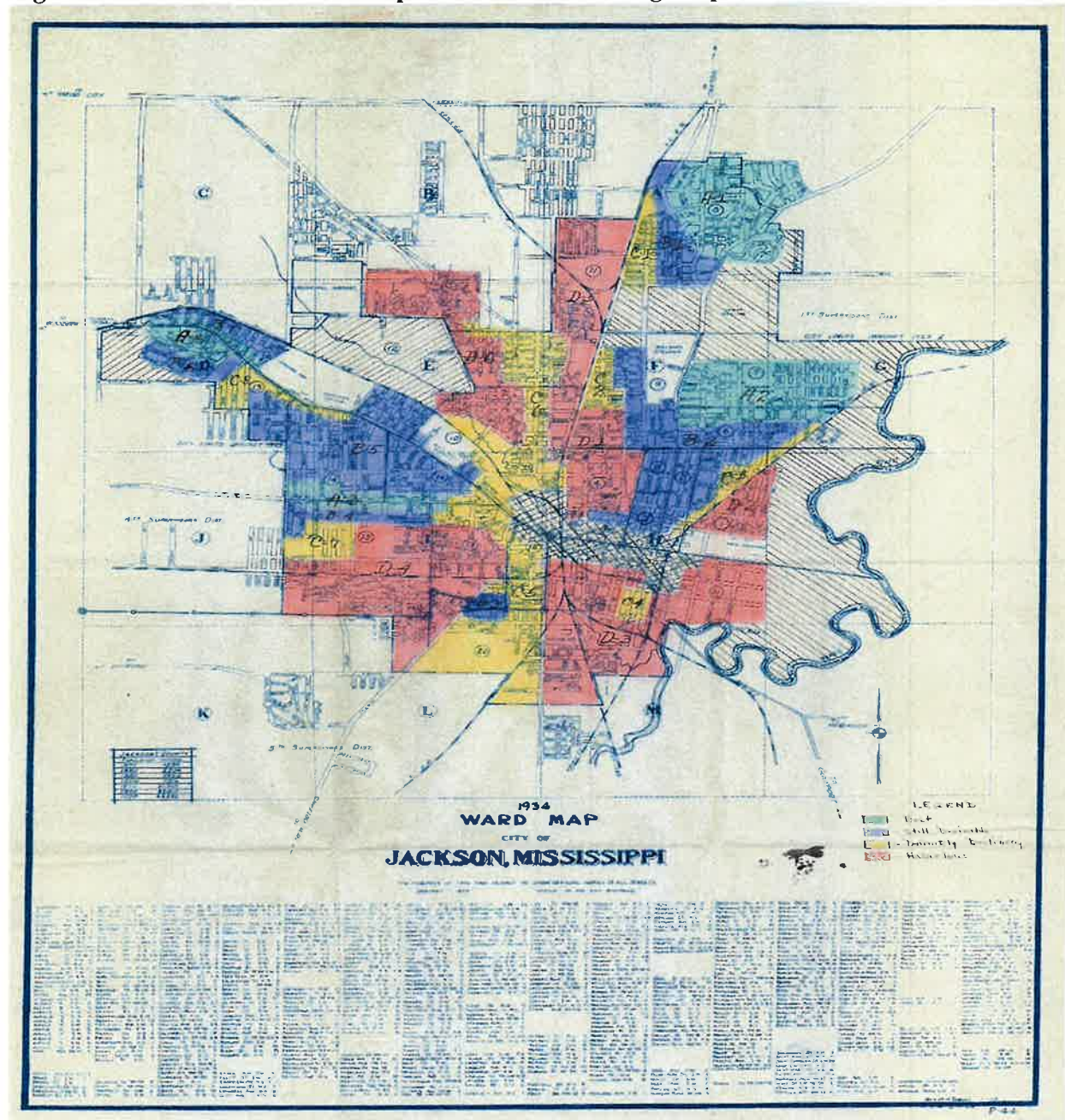
Neighborhood context matters for political mobilization and political outcomes (Burbank 1997, Burch 2013, Cohen and Dawson 1993, Huckfeldt, Plutzer, and Sprague 1993, Huckfeldt 1979, Tam Cho and Rudolph 2008). As discussed elsewhere in this report, many Black Mississippi residents have the misfortune of living in banking, healthcare, and food deserts, which contribute to racial disparities in health and wealth. However, where people live also matters because racial residential segregation has been shown to decrease Black voter turnout. Researchers argue that segregated Black areas have less access to public goods, such as polling places or transportation, that might matter for voting (Zingher and Moore 2019). In fact, Black Mississippi voters in the 2nd Congressional District face longer wait times than other voters in the district (Chen et al. 2019: 54). Racial residential segregation also affects politics indirectly because it is an important determinant of economic and health outcomes. Racial residential segregation increases Black poverty rates, lowers Black educational attainment, and increases income inequality between Black and white residents (Ananat 2011). Research attributes these effects to isolation from quality schools and jobs (Kruse 2013, Massey and Fischer 2006, Wilson 1996). Racial residential segregation also contributes to the test score gap between Black and

white students (Reardon, Kalogrides, and Shores 2019), to inequalities in the provision of public goods, to lower public goods expenditures (Trounstein 2016), and to worse health outcomes and greater exposure to environmental toxins (Ard 2016, Kramer and Hogue 2009).

For example, Jackson, Mississippi was segregated by race historically. Federal housing policy was a major driver of racial residential segregation. The Federal Housing Administration (FHA) was created in 1934 in order to “insure lenders against any loss on loans made for purchasing homes” (Kimble 2007: 402). The FHA, in this role, “could dictate the range of acceptable, insurable terms and conditions of home lending” (Kimble 2007: 403). In order to prevent lending to places where Black people lived, the FHA relied on Residential Security Maps that were produced by the Home Owners Loan Corporation (“HOLC”) (2021a). These maps “color-coded neighborhoods using racial composition as a primary indicator of their acceptability as candidates for mortgage investment” (Kimble 2007: 405). The maps assigned grades to neighborhoods based on racial composition, “with ‘A’ being most desirable and a ‘D’ grade ensuring rejection” (Kimble 2007: 405). The HOLC map for Jackson is shown in Figure 7 and follows this traditional grading system for lending based on neighborhood race (2021a).

Research shows that the Jackson area still suffers from a high degree of racial residential segregation today (2021b, Athey et al. 2021).⁵ As Trounstein (2016) finds, racially segregated cities spend less on public goods and allocate such goods unequally; a prominent example of this phenomenon is the water crisis currently devastating the city. The residents of Jackson were under a boil water advisory for months during the summer of 2022, and ultimately ended up losing running water altogether for weeks (Nawaz 2022). Jackson’s water system has had problems for a long time due to decades of underinvestment (Breslow 2022). However, despite the obvious problems, the Mississippi state legislature refused to appropriate money to fix the system and the Mississippi governor vetoed bipartisan legislation designed to help residents pay their bills and infuse money into the system (Breslow 2022). Professor Robert Bullard, an expert on environmental racism, argued that this neglect of Jackson’s water is because of race (Nawaz 2022).

⁵ Studies also have shown high racial residential segregation in Pascagoula (Athey et al. 2021) and moderate racial residential segregation in the Gulfport/Biloxi area (2021b, Athey et al. 2021).

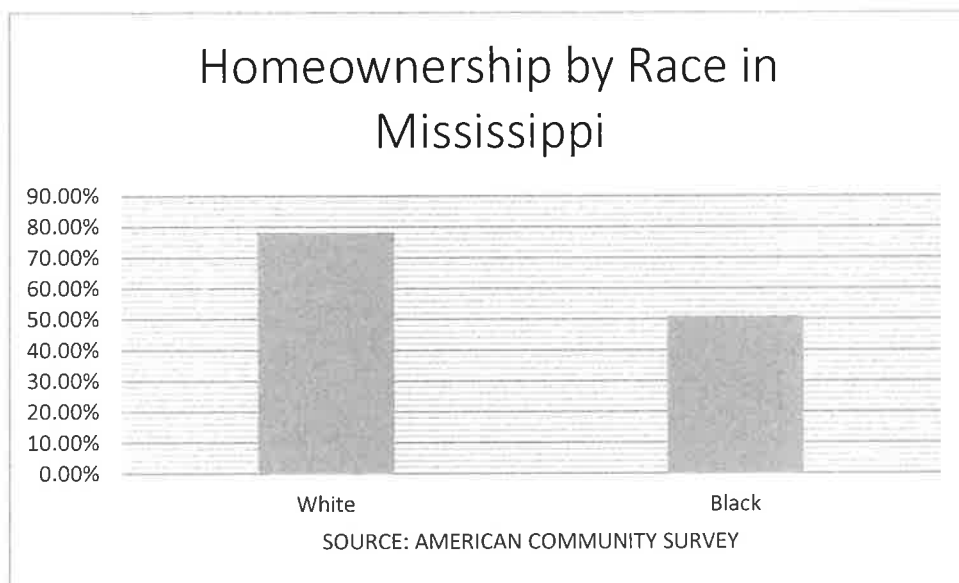
Figure 7: Homeowners Loan Corporation Underwriting Map for Jackson, MS

Homeownership affects voting through at least two pathways. First, residency requirements have been shown to reduce voter registration and turnout, largely because residential mobility increases the administrative burden of maintaining registration (Highton 2000). Renters are more mobile than owners. Second, linking back to the previous section, homeownership also has important effects on wealth accumulation (Grinstein-Weiss et al. 2013, Turner and Luea 2009).

Homeownership differs by race in Mississippi. As shown in Figure 8, Black people in Mississippi are less likely to own their homes. When they do, their homes are worth less than those owned by white Mississippians: according to the 2010 American Community Survey 5-

year estimates, the median home value for white Mississippi residents is \$114,500, but only \$68,300 for Black Mississippi residents. The 2010 American Community Survey data also show that Black Mississippians also are more likely than white Mississippians to live in homes that do not have access to a telephone (7.5% vs. 4.9%, respectively).

Figure 8: Homeownership by Race in Mississippi. Source: 2019 American Community Survey 1 year estimates.



Recent evidence suggests that racial gaps in homeownership as well as access to high quality overall results from discrimination. A 2019 report by the Mississippi Home Corporation, a state entity, found that Black people in Mississippi were denied mortgage loans more frequently and faced discrimination in rental markets (Mississippi Home Corporation 2019). Other studies also have shown that Black Mississippi applicants face discrimination in home lending (Ezeala-Harrison and Glover 2008) and that discriminatory practices affect the ability of Black renters to find rental housing in Mississippi (National Fair Housing Alliance 2017, U. S. Department of Justice 2020).

Health

Health status also may affect voting. Several studies have associated poor health with lower voter turnout (Blakely, Kennedy, and Kawachi 2001, Lyon 2021, Pacheco and Fletcher 2015). The effects of health on voting may take many pathways, such as reducing the availability of free time and money that could otherwise be devoted to politics (Pacheco and Fletcher 2015). Impaired cognitive functioning or physical disability also may make voting more difficult (Pacheco and Fletcher 2015). Poor health is likely the reason that voter turnout declines in old age (Pacheco and Fletcher 2015). People with disabilities also are less likely to vote; problems with polling place accessibility only partially explain this gap (Schur, Ameri, and

Adya 2017, Schur et al. 2002). Health and politics are particularly linked in Mississippi (Jones 2019).

Mississippi ranks among the least healthy of the American states. In many ways, Black Mississippians are worse off relative to white Mississippians. For instance, mortality rates for cancer are worse for Black Mississippi residents relative to whites (217.3 vs. 186.4 per 100,000 residents, age adjusted) (Centers for Disease Control 2022). However, this gap in mortality is not driven by a gap in the incidence of cancer, which is quite similar between Black and white Mississippians (518.2 vs. 513.5 per 100,000 residents, age adjusted) (Centers for Disease Control 2022). As Figure 9 shows, Black people in Mississippi also suffer from diabetes, high blood pressure, and obesity at higher rates than white people in the state (CDC). Overall, life expectancy for Black people in Mississippi is lower than that for white people; in 53 Mississippi counties, the average white person is expected to live more than two years longer than the average Black person (County Health Rankings and Roadmaps 2022). In three counties (Jefferson Davis, Coahoma, and Holmes), the life expectancy for white people is greater than seven years longer than that for Black people (County Health Rankings and Roadmaps 2022). Infant mortality is much higher for Black babies: 11.9 per 1000 live births vs. 6.2 per 1000 live births for white babies (Mississippi State Department of Public Health 2018).

Figure 9: Disease Incidence, by Race. Source, Centers for Disease Control.

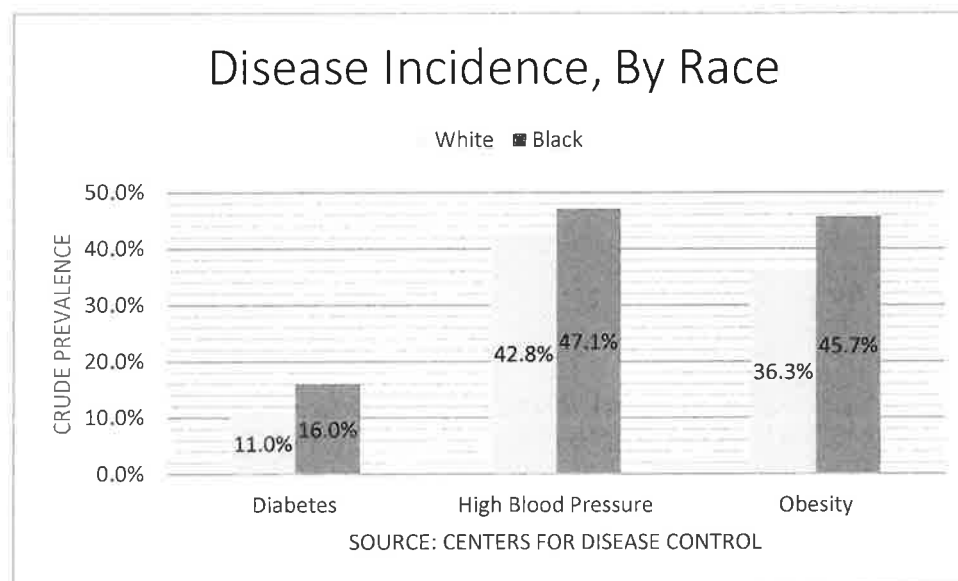
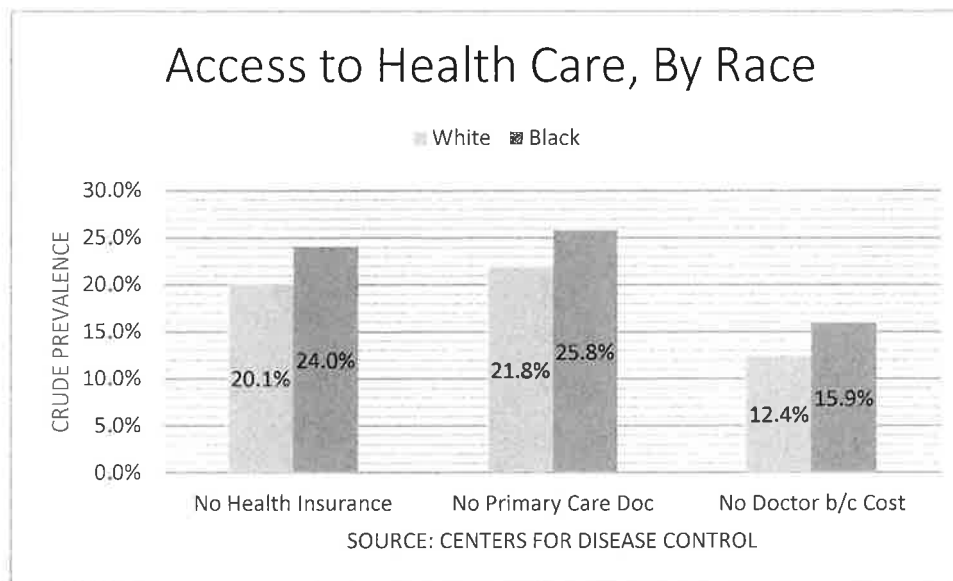


Figure 10: Access to Health Care, by Race. Source: Centers for Disease Control.

These health disparities are caused partially by disparities in access to resources. In Mississippi, as shown in Figure 10, Black people are less likely to have health insurance or a primary care physician than white people (CDC). Moreover, Black people are more likely to report that they did not go see a doctor when they needed to because of cost considerations (CDC). Racial residential segregation also may make it more difficult for Black Americans to access primary care physicians and other doctors (Gaskin et al. 2012, Anderson 2018). For instance, many areas of Mississippi, particularly the Delta region, are medically underserved, and some counties have few to no primary care physicians practicing (Williams and Sprinkle 2021). Many people in the Delta also lack access to stores that sell nutritious food; food deserts have been linked to poor health outcomes as well (Goodman, Thomson, and Landry 2020, Hossfeld and Rico Mendez 2018). Similar problems have been reported with respect to racial disparities in access to COVID-19 vaccination sites early in the vaccine rollout in Mississippi, partly due to failure to reach people in medically underserved areas (Doyle 2021, Gravlee et al. 2021). Even in Jackson, access to vaccines was limited; the city did not open its first drive-thru vaccination site until three weeks after sites opened in other areas (Associated Press 2021).

Discrimination also contributes to racial health disparities. Several long-term studies of Jackson, Mississippi residents have shown that racial discrimination affects cardiac health (Sims et al. 2012, Forde et al. 2020). Racial residential segregation has been shown to lead to worse health outcomes for Black Americans. Several studies have demonstrated that racial residential segregation contributes to racial gaps in cancer outcomes (Landrine et al. 2017, Blanco et al. 2021, Poulson et al. 2021). Such factors, by contributing to racial disparities in health, ultimately may affect voting because of the link between poor health and lower voter turnout.

Criminal Justice

A growing body of research shows that criminal justice interactions affect political behavior. Several studies have shown that, for individuals, contact with the criminal justice system, from police stops, to arrest, to incarceration, directly decreases voter turnout (Burch 2011, Lerman and Weaver 2014, Weaver and Lerman 2010). Primarily, criminal justice contact decreases turnout through “the combined forces of stigma, punishment and exclusion” which impose “barriers to most avenues of influence” and diminish “factors such as civic capacity, governmental trust, individual efficacy, and social connectedness that encourage activity” (Burch 2007: 12).

Black people are disproportionately represented among Mississippi’s prisoners, probationers, and parolees as shown in Figure 11. As a reminder, 38.0% of Mississippi’s population is Black, but according to the Mississippi Department of Corrections, 60.4% of prisoners, 52.0% of probationers, and 55.5% of parolees in Mississippi are Black. Black people were 54.1% of arrestees in Mississippi in 2020 (Federal Bureau of Investigation 2022).

Figure 11: Mississippi Correctional Populations, by Race. Source: Mississippi Department of Corrections



Racial discrimination accounts for some of this disparity. Studies have shown that racial disparities in arrest are caused by factors that make it more likely that police will stop or search Black people, such as spatially differentiated policing, racial residential segregation, and discrimination (Beckett, Nyrop, and Pfingst 2006, Gelman, Fagan, and Kiss 2007, Ousey and Lee 2008, Pierson et al. 2020). Racial disparities in bail decisions (Arnold, Dobbie, and Yang 2018) and in sentencing also may contribute to incarceration disparities (Bushway and Piehl 2001, Mitchell 2005, Steffensmeier and Demuth 2000, Steffensmeier, Ulmer, and Kramer 1998). Research shows evidence of racial discrimination in sentencing in Mississippi (Fender et al. 2006). The Mississippi legislature passed several reforms of the criminal justice system. However, the evidence suggests that racial discrimination still leads to disparate sentencing outcomes (Mississippi Office of State Public Defender 2018). Moreover, the Supreme Court

found evidence of racial discrimination in the use of peremptory challenges in *Flowers v. Mississippi* 139 S. Ct. 2228 (2019). In addition to the *Flowers* case, scholars have found that racial discrimination of the use of peremptory challenges is a widespread practice in Mississippi (DeCamp and DeCamp 2020).

Mississippi's felony disenfranchisement law was designed "to obstruct the exercise of the franchise by the Negro race," *Ratliff v. Beale*, 20 So. 865, 868 (1896), after the Civil War (Behrens, Uggen, and Manza 2003). Because of this law, involvement with the criminal justice system directly affects voting. In Mississippi, people with felony convictions for certain offenses are prevented from voting while they are serving their sentence in prison or in the community and even after they have finished serving their sentences. Because of the disproportionate involvement of Black Mississippians with the criminal justice system, Black people disproportionately are more likely to have lost their voting rights permanently. Based on an analysis of records from the Administrative Office of the Courts, an estimated 56,000 people are disenfranchised permanently in Mississippi (Rozier 2018). Black people are 61% of the disenfranchised population (Rozier 2018),.

In Mississippi, Black people are disproportionately arrested, convicted, and punished for crimes. Research suggests that racial discrimination has played a role in these disparities historically and continues to do so because of discriminatory arrest, conviction, and sentencing practices. It is important to remember that, because of felony disenfranchisement laws, disparities in criminal justice involvement translate into disparities in voting participation because Black Mississippians are disproportionately barred from voting based on their criminal histories.

Section 5: Conclusion

To summarize the discussion, Black people in Mississippi are subjected to worse outcomes in education, socioeconomic status, housing, health, and criminal justice. Research cited in this report shows how these racial disparities partly are the result of historical and contemporary discrimination by state and local governments as well as private market actors. In particular, policies that continue to support segregation in education and fail to allocate resources equitably across domains such as health, housing, and education help maintain racial gaps in well-being. As I have demonstrated in this report, researchers have shown that such disparities in education, employment, poverty, income, housing, health, and criminal justice involvement all contribute to gaps in voter turnout.

Senate Factor 8: Lack of Responsiveness

Under Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act, courts may consider additional factors, such as whether there is a lack of responsiveness on the part of elected officials to the particularized needs of minority group members. The longstanding and persistent gaps in socioeconomic status, incarceration, and health discussed throughout this report demonstrate the lack of responsiveness of public officials to the needs of Mississippi's Black communities. Research has shown that public policies are important for creating and sustaining racial disparities. For instance, as described earlier in this report, persistent test score gaps and educational segregation continue to pose problems for Mississippi students; however, Mississippi continues to underfund public schools in the state (Parks 2021). Black Mississippians have worse health outcomes, are less likely to have health insurance, and are more likely to avoid care because of costs, and yet

Mississippi has not accepted the federal Medicaid expansion (Kaiser Family Foundation 2022). Mississippi is the poorest state in the nation, but Mississippi misused millions of dollars in funds from the Temporary Assistance to Needy Families Program, refusing to spend that money on the citizens with the most need (Wolfe 2020). Mississippi also faces allegations that money meant for rental assistance was misdirected toward millions of dollars in lawyer fees (O'Connell and Torbati 2021), and that money meant to alleviate racial disparities in COVID 19 also went mostly unused (Galewitz, Weber, and Whitehead 2022). In Jackson, a persistent water crisis has left residents without water for weeks, and yet the state refused to allocate money to help the city repeatedly (Breslow 2022). A majority of Mississippi voters favor policies such as Medicaid expansion, helping the city of Jackson with fixing the water crisis, and restoring voting rights to people with felony convictions (College 2019, 2021). Moreover, in each of these cases, federal money is there to help. The state just refuses to do so.

Prominent Black leaders in Mississippi attribute these policy decisions to racism. Representative Bennie Thompson, for instance, said of COVID 19 vaccine sites, “But that is a decision that has to go through the governor's office. And the majority of people don't have any confidence that the governor is interested in providing those kinds of services in the minority community” (Chatlani 2021). Zakiya Summers, a Mississippi State Legislator, said of her state,

“Wealthier areas, she said, “tend to get more resources, more state support. West Jackson, we haven’t seen that in a while. It’s areas where poor Black people are concentrated where help is slow moving or it’s none at all” (Hennessy-Fiske 2022).

Governor Reeves disagrees. He said, “There is not systemic racism in America” (Ganucheau 2021).

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- Steffensmeier, Darrell, Jeffery Ulmer, and John Kramer. 1998. "The Interaction of Race, Gender, and Age in Criminal Sentencing: The Punishment Cost of Being Young, Black, and Male." *Criminology* 36 (4):763-798. doi: 10.1111/j.1745-9125.1998.tb01265.x.
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- U. S. Department of Justice. 2016. Federal Court Orders Justice Department Desegregation Plan for Cleveland, Mississippi Schools.
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Appendix

Traci Burch

Employment

- Associate Professor, Northwestern University Department of Political Science (2014-Present)
- Research Professor, American Bar Foundation (2007- Present)
- Assistant Professor, Northwestern University Department of Political Science (2007-2014)

Education

- *Harvard University*
Ph.D. in Government and Social Policy
Dissertation: *Punishment and Participation: How Criminal Convictions Threaten American Democracy*
Committee: Jennifer Hochschild (Chair), Sidney Verba, and Gary King
- *Princeton University*
A.B. in Politics, *magna cum laude*

Publications

- Burch, Traci. 2022. "Adding Insult to Injury: the Justification Frame in Official Narratives of Officer-Involved Killings." *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics*.
- Burch, Traci. 2022. "Officer-Involved Killings and the Repression of Protest." *Urban Affairs Review*.
- Burch, Traci. 2021. "Not All Black Lives Matter: Officer-Involved Deaths and the Role of Victim Characteristics in Shaping Political Interest and Voter Turnout." *Perspectives on Politics*.
- Kay Lehman Schlozman, Philip Edward Jones, Hye Young You, Traci Burch, Sidney Verba, Henry E. Brady. 2018. "Organizations and the Democratic Representation of Interests: What Happens When Those Organizations Have No Members?" *Perspectives on Politics*.
- Burch, Traci. 2016. "Political Equality and the Criminal Justice System." In Resources, Engagement, and Recruitment. Casey Klofstad, ed. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Burch, Traci. 2016. "Review of The First Civil Right by Naomi Murakawa." *The Forum*.

- Kay Lehman Schlozman, Philip Edward Jones, Hye Young You, Traci Burch, Sidney Verba, Henry E. Brady. 2015. "Louder Chorus – Same Accent: The Representation of Interests in Pressure Politics, 1981-2011." In Darren Halpin, David Lowery, Virginia Gray, eds. The Organization Ecology of Interest Communities. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Burch, Traci. 2015. "Skin Color and the Criminal Justice System: Beyond Black-White Disparities in Criminal Sentencing." *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies* 12(3): 395-420.
- Burch, Traci. 2014. "The Old Jim Crow: Racial Residential Segregation and Neighborhood Imprisonment." *Law & Policy* 36(3) 223-255.
- Burch, Traci. 2014. "The Effects of Imprisonment and Community Supervision on Political Participation." Detaining Democracy Special Issue. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 651 (1) 184-201.
- Burch, Traci. 2013. Trading Democracy for Justice: Criminal Convictions and the Decline of Neighborhood Political Participation. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hochschild, Jennifer, Vesla Weaver, and Traci Burch. 2012. Transforming the American Racial Order. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Schlozman, Kay Lehman, Sidney Verba, Henry Brady, Traci Burch, and Phillip Jones. 2012. "Who Sings in the Heavenly Chorus? The Shape of the Organized Interest System." In Schlozman, Kay Lehman, Sidney Verba, and Henry Brady, The Unheavenly Chorus, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Schlozman, Kay Lehman, Sidney Verba, Henry Brady, Phillip Jones, and Traci Burch. 2012. "Political Voice through Organized Interest Activity." In Schlozman, Kay Lehman, Sidney Verba, and Henry Brady, The Unheavenly Chorus, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Burch, Traci. 2012. "Did Disfranchisement Laws Help Elect President Bush? New Evidence on the Turnout and Party Registration of Florida's Ex-Felons." *Political Behavior* 34 (1); 1-26.
- Burch, Traci. 2011. "Turnout and Party Registration among Criminal Offenders in the 2008 General Election." *Law and Society Review* 45(3): 699-730.
- Burch, Traci. 2011. "Fixing the Broken System of Financial Sanctions." *Criminology and Public Policy* 10(3).
- Hochschild, Jennifer; Vesla Weaver, and Traci Burch. 2011. "Destabilizing the American Racial Order." *Daedalus* 140; 151-165.

- Burch, Traci. 2009. "Can the New Commander-In-Chief Sustain His All Volunteer Standing Army?" *The Dubois Review on Race* 6(1).
- Burch, Traci. 2009. "Review of *Imprisoning Communities*, by Todd Clear." *Law and Society Review* 43(3) 716-18.
- Burch, Traci. 2009. "American Politics and the Not-So-Benign Neglect of Criminal Justice," in The Future of American Politics, ed. Gary King, Kay Schlozman, and Norman Nie. (New York: Routledge).
- Schlozman, Kay Lehman and Traci Burch. 2009. "Political Voice in an Age of Inequality," in America at Risk: Threats to Liberal Self-Government in an Age of Uncertainty, ed. Robert Faulkner and Susan Shell (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press).
- Hochschild, Jennifer and Traci Burch. 2007. "Contingent Public Policies and the Stability of Racial Hierarchy: Lessons from Immigration and Census Policy," in Political Contingency: Studying the Unexpected, the Accidental, and the Unforeseen, ed. Ian Shapiro and Sonu Bedi (New York: NYU Press).

Grants

- Co-Principal Investigator. "Fellowship and Mentoring Program on Law and Inequality." September 1, 2020 to August 31, 2023. \$349,313. National Science Foundation.

Honors and Fellowships

- American Political Science Association 2014 Ralph J. Bunche Award (for Trading Democracy for Justice).
- American Political Science Association Urban Section 2014 Best Book Award (for Trading Democracy for Justice).
- American Political Science Association Law and Courts Section 2014 C. Herman Pritchett Award (for Trading Democracy for Justice).
- Research grant, Stanford University Center for Poverty and Inequality (2012).
- American Political Science Association E. E. Schattschneider Award for the best doctoral dissertation in the field of American Government (2009)
- American Political Science Association William Anderson Award for the best doctoral dissertation in the field of state and local politics, federalism, or intergovernmental relations (2008)

- American Political Science Association Urban Section Best Dissertation in Urban Politics Award (2008)
- Harvard University Robert Noxon Toppan Prize for the best dissertation in political science (2007)
- Institute for Quantitative Social Sciences Research Fellowship (2006-07)
- *European Network on Inequality* Fellowship (2005)
- Research Fellowship, The Sentencing Project (2005)
- Doctoral Fellow, Malcolm Weiner Center for Inequality and Social Policy (2004-07)

Professional Service

- APSA Law and Courts Section Best Paper Award Committee (2020-2021)
- APSA Elections, Public Opinion, and Voting Behavior Executive Committee (2020-2023)
- General Social Survey Board of Overseers (2020-2025)
- APSA Kammerer Prize Committee (2017)
- Associate Editor, *Political Behavior* (2015-2019)
- APSA Law and Courts Section, Lifetime Achievement Award Prize Committee (2014-2015)
- Law and Society Association, Kalven Prize Committee (2013-2014)
- American Political Science Association, Urban Politics Section Dissertation Prize Committee (2012-13)
- American Political Science Association, Urban Politics Section Executive Committee (2012-13)
- Law and Society Association Diversity Committee, (2012-2013)
- American Political Science Association, Urban Politics Section Program Co-Chair (2011)
- Associate Editor, *Law and Social Inquiry*
- American Political Science Association, Urban Politics Section Book Prize Committee (2009)

- Reviewer for *The American Political Science Review*, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *American Politics Research*, and *Time-Sharing Experiments in the Social Sciences*.

Presentations and Invited Talks

- University of Pennsylvania. Virtual. “Voice and Representation in American Politics.” April 2021.
- University of Michigan. Virtual. “Which Lives Matter? Factors Affecting Mobilization in Response to Officer-Involved Killings.” February 2021.
- University of Pittsburgh. Virtual. “Policing and Participation.” November 2020.
- Hamilton College Constitution Day Seminar. Virtual. “Racial Protests and the Constitution.” September 2020.
- New York Fellows of the American Bar Foundation. New York, NY. “Police Shootings and Political Participation.” March 2020.
- Pennsylvania State University, State College, PA. “Effect of Officer Involved Killings on Protest. November 2019.
- Princeton University. Princeton NJ. “Effects of Police Shootings on Protest among Young Blacks.” November 2019.
- Missouri Fellows of the American Bar Foundation. Branson, MO. Police Shootings and Political Participation in Chicago. September 2019.
- Northwestern University. “Police Shootings and Political Participation.” November, 2018.
- Princeton University. Princeton, NJ. “Police Shootings and Political Participation.” September, 2018.
- University of California at Los Angeles. Los Angeles, CA. “Police Shootings and Political Participation.” August, 2018.
- American Bar Association Annual Meeting. Chicago, IL. “Police Shootings and Political Participation.” August 2018.
- American Bar Endowment Annual Meeting. Lexington, KY. “Effects of Police Shooting in Chicago on Political Participation.” June 2018.
- Vanderbilt University. “Effects of Police Shootings in Chicago on Political Participation.” April 2018.

- Washington University in St. Louis. “Effects of Pedestrian and Auto Stops on Voter Turnout in St. Louis.” February 2018.
- Fellows of the American Bar Foundation, Los Angeles. “Assaulting Democracy.” January 2018.
- Northwestern University Reviving American Democracy Conference. Panel presentation. “Barriers to Voting.” January 2018.
- University of Illinois at Chicago. “Effects of Police Shootings in Chicago on Political Participation.” October, 2017.
- Chico State University. “Constitution Day Address: Policing and Political Participation.” September, 2017.
- Fellows of the American Bar Foundation, Atlanta, Georgia. “Policing in Georgia.” May 2017.
- United States Commission on Civil Rights. Testimony. “Collateral Consequences of Mass Incarceration.” May 2017.
- Northwestern University Pritzker School of Law. “Effects of Police Stops of Cars and Pedestrians on Voter Turnout in St. Louis.” April 2017.
- University of California at Los Angeles. Race and Ethnic Politics Workshop. “Effects of Police Stops of Cars and Pedestrians on Voter Turnout in St. Louis.” March 2017.
- University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. American Politics Workshop. “Effects of Police Stops of Cars and Pedestrians on Voter Turnout in St. Louis.” February 2017.
- National Bar Association, St. Louis MO. “Political Effects of Mass Incarceration.” July 2016.
- Harvard University, Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics. Inequalities/Equalities in Cities Workshop. April 2016.
- American Political Science Association Annual Meeting. September 2015. “Responsibility for Racial Justice.” Discussant.
- St. Olaf College. April 2015. “The Collateral Consequences of Mass Incarceration.”
- Northwestern University. Institute for Policy Research. February 2015. “The Civic Culture Structure.”

- Texas A&M University. Race, Ethnicity, and Politics Workshop. September 2014. “Trading Democracy for Justice.”
- Columbia University Teachers College. The Suburban Promise of Brown Conference. May 2014. “Can We All Get Along, Revisited: Racial Attitudes, the Tolerance for Diversity, and the Prospects for Integration in the 21st Century.”
- University of Kentucky. Reversing Trajectories: Incarceration, Violence, and Political Consequences Conference. April 2014. “Trading Democracy for Justice.”
- University of Chicago. American Politics Workshop. March 2014. “How Geographic Differences in Neighborhood Civic Capacity Affect Voter Turnout.”
- Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. February 2014. “Trading Democracy for Justice.”
- University of Michigan. American Politics Workshop. December 2013. “Trading Democracy for Justice.”
- Yale University. American Politics and Public Policy Workshop. September 2013. “Trading Democracy for Justice.”
- American Political Science Association Annual Meeting. August 2013. “The Heavenly Chorus Is Even Louder: The Growth and Changing Composition of the Washington Pressure System.” With Kay Lehman Schlozman, Sidney Verba, Henry Brady, and Phillip Jones.
- National Bar Association, Miami Florida, July 2013. “The Collateral Consequences of Mass Imprisonment.”
- Loyola University. American Politics Workshop. December 2012. “Mass Imprisonment and Neighborhood Voter Turnout.”
- Marquette University School of Law. November 2012. “The Collateral Consequences of Mass Imprisonment.”
- Yale University. Detaining Democracy Conference. November 2012. “The Effects of Imprisonment and Community Supervision on Political Participation.”
- Brown University. American Politics Workshop. October 2012. “Mass Imprisonment and Neighborhood Voter Turnout.”

- American Bar Association National Meeting, August 2012. “Mass Imprisonment: Consequences for Society and Politics.”
- University of Madison-Wisconsin. American Politics Workshop. March 2012. “The Spatial Concentration of Imprisonment and Racial Political Inequality.”
- American Political Science Association Annual Meeting. 2011. “Theme Panel: How Can Political Science Help Us Understand the Politics of Decarceration?”
- University of Pennsylvania. Democracy, Citizenship, and Constitutionalism Conference. April, 2011. “Vicarious Imprisonment and Neighborhood Political Inequality.”
- University of Chicago School of Law. Public Laws Colloquium. Chicago, IL. November, 2010. ““The Effects of Neighborhood Incarceration Rates on Individual Political Efficacy and Perceptions of Discrimination.”
- Pomona College. November, 2010. “Incarceration Nation.”
- University of Washington. Surveying Social Marginality Workshop. October 2010. “Using Government Data to Study Current and Former Felons.”
- American Bar Foundation, Chicago, IL, September 2010. “The Effects of Neighborhood Incarceration Rates on Individual Political Attitudes.”
- Northwestern University. Chicago Area Behavior Conference. May 2010. “Trading Democracy for Justice: The Spillover Effects of Incarceration on Voter Turnout in Charlotte and Atlanta.”
- Annual Meeting of the Law and Society Association, Chicago, IL, May 2010. “Neighborhood Criminal Justice Involvement and Voter Turnout in the 2008 General Election.”
- Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA, January 2010. “The Art and Science of Voter Mobilization: Grassroots Perspectives on Registration and GOTV from Charlotte, Atlanta, and Chicago.”
- University of Illinois at Chicago. Institute for Government and Public Affairs. November 2009. "Turnout and Party Registration among Convicted Offenders during the 2008 Presidential Election."
- Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, September 2009. "'I Wanted to Vote for History:' Turnout and Party Registration among Convicted Offenders during the 2008 Presidential Election."

- Harris School of Public Policy, University of Chicago. American Politics Workshop. December 2008. "Trading Democracy for Justice? The Spillover Effects of Imprisonment on Neighborhood Voter Participation."
- Northwestern University School of Law. Law and Political Economy Colloquium. November 2008. "Did Disfranchisement Laws Help Elect President Bush? New Evidence on the Turnout Rates and Candidate Preferences of Florida's Ex-Felons."
- University of California, Berkeley. Center for the Study of Law and Society. October 2008. "Trading Democracy for Justice? The Spillover Effects of Imprisonment on Neighborhood Voter Participation."
- Law and Society Association Annual Meeting, Montreal, Canada, May 2008. "Did Disfranchisement Laws Help Elect President Bush? New Evidence on the Turnout Rates and Candidate Preferences of Florida's Ex-Felons."
- Law and Society Association Annual Meeting, Montreal, Canada, May 2008. "Trading Democracy for Justice? The Spillover Effects of Imprisonment on Neighborhood Voter Participation."
- Midwest Political Science Association Conference, Chicago, IL, April 2007. Paper: "Concentrated Incarceration: How Neighborhood Incarceration Decreases Voter Registration."

Working Papers Under Review

- "Introduction" (with Jenn Jackson and Periloux Peay) in *Freedom Dreams: A Symposium on Abolition*. Eds. Jenn Jackson, Periloux Peay, and Traci Burch. Social Science Quarterly.
- "The Effects of Community Police Performance on Protest in Chicago" (For Symposium Honoring John Hagan)
- "How Police Departments Frame Low-Threat Victims of Officer-Involved Killings"
- Which Lives Matter?

Additional Activities

- Expert witness in *Kelvin Jones vs. Ron DeSantis, etc. et al.* (U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Florida Consolidated Case No. 4:19-cv-00).
- Expert witness in *Community Success Initiative, et al., Plaintiffs v. Timothy K. Moore* (Superior Court, Wake County, NC Case No. 19-cv-15941).

- Expert witness in *People First of Alabama v. Merrill* (U.S. District Court in Birmingham, Alabama, Case No. 2: 20-cv-00619-AKK)
- Expert witness in *Florida State Conference of the NAACP v. Lee* (U.S. District Court in the Northern District of Florida, Case No. 4:21-cv-00187-MW-MAF)
- Expert witness in *One Wisconsin Institute Inc. v. Jacobs* (U.S. District Court in the Western District of Wisconsin, Case No. 15-CV-324-JDP).
- Expert witness in *Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity Inc., et al. v. Raffensperger* (U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Georgia, Case No. 1:21-cv-05337-SCJ)
- Expert witness in *Robinson, et al. v. Ardoin* (U.S. District Court for the Middle District of Louisiana, Civil Action No. 22-cv-00211).
- Expert witness in *Nairne, et al. v. Ardoin* (U.S. District Court for the Middle District of Louisiana, Civil Action No. 3:22-cv-00178 SDD-SDJ).

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
NORTHERN DISTRICT OF MISSISSIPPI
GREENVILLE DIVISION**

DYAMONE WHITE, et al.,

Plaintiffs,

v.

STATE BOARD OF ELECTION
COMMISSIONERS, et al.,

Defendant.

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No. 4:22-cv-00062-SA-JMV

Declaration of Traci Burch

DECLARATION OF TRACI BURCH


I, Traci Burch, make the following declaration based on personal knowledge:

I have been retained by the Plaintiffs in the above referenced matter as an expert. I submit that the foregoing report from me is a true and accurate copy of the report I provided to Plaintiffs in this matter. I declare that the information and opinions contained in the report are true and correct to the best of my knowledge.

I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct. 28 U.S.C. § 1746.

Dated:

10/1/2022



Traci Burch